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Preface

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121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

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101 This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

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103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simón, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Nawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

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103 From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

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From Cuevo I left for the northwest toward the Parapiti River region. I crossed this river near Pipi. After stopping in that village, I followed an Indian path which led me to Carurutí, to the home of my good friend Captain Karnapadyú. I spent a week with him and left him only to explore the whole Caipipendí valley, visiting all the Indian villages one after another. At Caipipendí itself I made fruitful excavations and collected interesting myths.

The limit of my trip toward the north was the little city of Charagua.

I devoted the last part of my trip to more or less long stays in the Franciscan missions of Tarairí, Tigüipa, Machareti, and Ivu.

Before going back to Argentina I made an excursion into the Igüembé valley as far as the village of Masavi.

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The last two weeks of my expedition were devoted to the study of the Chané Indians who live near Aguaray in the Salta Chaco (Argentine Republic).

Previously I had been obliged, for various reasons, to stop at Oran for a month. I took advantage of this to make collections among the Ashluslay Indians who come there for the sugarcane harvest.

In this volume I shall publish only the results of my expedition which bring new facts and details to light. Therefore the chapters I devote to the Chiriguano must not be considered an exhaustive study of their culture, but simply as a contribution. Chiriguano culture has been the subject of four important works, two of which are by ethnographers of great authority (1). /297/

1. Nordenskiöld (2, 5, and 10) and Rosen (1) /the underlined numbers following an author's name refer to the boldface numbers in the bibliography/. Campana's monograph on the Chiriguano, which I shall often have occasion to cite, is only a recompilation and reorganization of the manuscript notes left by the Italian missionary, the Reverend Father Doroteo Giannechini. This work is excellent in many respects. As for the book of the Reverend

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and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).
I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the
characteristics of the great Guaraní migration which ended in the
formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani
linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guaraní
nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole
group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guaraní,
they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at
the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after
crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept
along so many thousands of Guaraní toward the frontiers of the Inca
Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal ob-
jects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier
and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians.
The Guaraní of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had
known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they
used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and
sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples
of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco,
Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9,
pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so
strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at
their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels.
Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and
goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact posi-
tion is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the
northern Chaco. The Chané /Chané/ who lived in direct contact
with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them,
played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools
and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of
what race are those who have the silver and the

/320 cont./

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guaraní, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

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Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down; in 1798 the Chané of the Itiyuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itáu and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225; Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

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/329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Itiyuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Itiyuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

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Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guaraní, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (2, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

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The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

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Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarupayu, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

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[73] This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

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[177] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

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[563] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

[619] The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

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[177] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

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[198] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

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131 Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century
and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matakó-Mataguayó and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

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Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern.

243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis
[273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

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[134] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate, hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

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243 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month
• [101] of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

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243 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

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17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

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1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguana, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as 'corregidor, etc....' /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguana, and the rest indios Chanese /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguana, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguana ... " /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/.

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The Chiriguano, the Yuracaré, the Mosetene and Chimane, the Leco, and the Tacana. The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guaraní group; the Yuracaré, Leco, and Tacana represent still isolated linguistic families. The Mosetene and Chimane form a single linguistic group.

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The Chiriguano (*Ara Chakano*) (map 1, No. 3; map 2; map 8, No. 5) are the descendants of the Guaraní who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Río Grande (Gurapay River). (Lat. 18°-23° S., long. 63°-64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents.

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a Guaraní Indian who spoke to Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. A Chané Indian captured by the Guaraní and brought to Itati told Domingo de Iruia in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513-18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The Guaraní migration described by Diego Felipe de Alcaza, cousin of Matana, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandía (1935 a, p. 24), this was the migratory shift which took the Guaraní from the region of Itati to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayu-Pouernu* tribe.

The fourth Guaraní invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26-30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of Guaraní he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 13° S., and invaded the borderlands of the Inca Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Potosí to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the Chiriguano (*Chicha*), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with Chané and Tarapesoí (*Chiquito*), Alejo

1 Maps 1, 2, 3 not processed for this file 165

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174 When experience showed them that they could settle
167 in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests
were certain, they made their homes there and, when in-
vaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.

241 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly
433 very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every
[461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops
are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free
of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no
lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the
big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and
241 then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and
511 sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's
[931] new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably.
In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope
a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or
/77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called
socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can
scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time
are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 By what has already been related it can easily be under-
[101] stood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní
of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous
to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be
stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano
languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which
exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with
respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

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1. The Chiriguano language has very few
accented words; in Guaraní they are
abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

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301 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips,
191 respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men
and women wear in the lower lip tembetsa that are conical in
shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper
lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembetsa
is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do
not show themselves in public without having it
in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing
in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do.
Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago
by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which
increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembetsa is used by preference by the
/233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put
around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of
age. The tembetsas of the Tapi of Isoso are small, and those
of the Chovoti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no
doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal
to make a de luxe one (1).

●101 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano
Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where
there is flat land with hills and streams, in
order to be able to do their planting.

301 According to what is known through faith, clothing was
773 given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punish-
776 ment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent
and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there
exist the fabulous belief that the tembetsa, which today they
consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of
virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter
and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

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History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt Chiriguano or Chiriguano, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the mission is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more grudgingly, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuki, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapiti with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

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of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /feminine/. which costs little.

If one asks the reasons for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before: they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

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2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gaucho, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Criollos/: they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

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The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one of San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigilipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /300/ the handwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

ZAMUCO SK14
Ta Piste SK13
Puniques

(113 cont.)

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Nothing is known about the origin of these wretched Indians because they run away from civilized peoples: not do they allow the latter to occupy the region that they inhabit, because they kill treacherously by night or even by day, if they are superior in number.

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Perhaps in some distant day they can be reduced with the colonization of the territory, because it is supposed that they follow the dry course of the Parapiti River in order to be able to live, at least in winter, when the water in the lakes dries up.

Yanaiguas or Nanaiguas

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It is not true that the Nanaiguas are Chiriguano in origin, for if this were so they would all speak something of the language. Those who understand it are rare, and those who speak it very rarely the latter have learned it from their dealings, not only with the Chiriguano, but also with certain whites to whom they have begun to lend their services.

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(64)

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Their territory is located between the Parapiti River and the stream of Cuervo, from 20° to 22° 30' latitude and from 65° to 67° 40' longitude.

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They are not numerous, but are quite inoffensive and peaceful, for which reason it is easy to reduce them, and I do not believe the day is far off. In the region of these and other Indians, there are explorations going on today which will necessarily result in intercourse and subsequent civilization, given the peacefulness of the natives.

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The Chiriguano have given the said name to these Indians. They call them Yanaiguas because they are dwellers in the forest, and this is a term of contempt, because, according to the Chiriguano, only wild animals live in the forest.

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As I have said, these Indians are not like the previous ones, who run away from civilized peoples: they are already working with the whites, although not more than half a day, like the Toba and Maracó, and without the tenacity of the latter. They are often seen on the right bank of the Parapiti in little

/332 cont./

Music of the <u>Mbapa Páure</u> /omitted in the original source/	
Chiriguano carnival	361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/	
Bows, arrows, etc.	368
Group of Choroti Indians	384
Choroti Indian houses	392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission	401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti)	410
Interior of the San Pascual Church	418
Group of Mataco Indians	422
Group of Toba Indians	430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

Note: The map which is found at the end of the work contains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

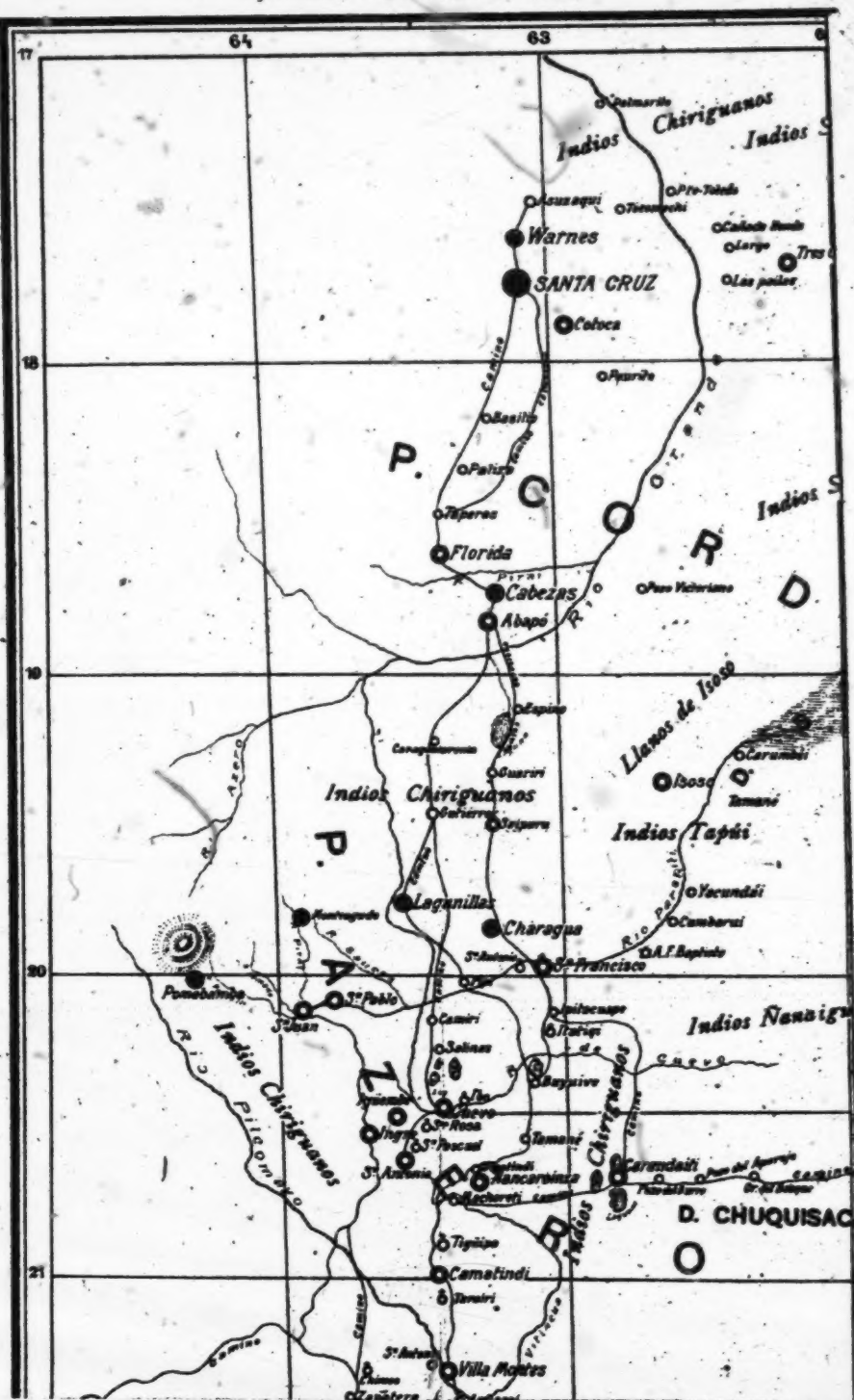
Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).

/facing End Map/

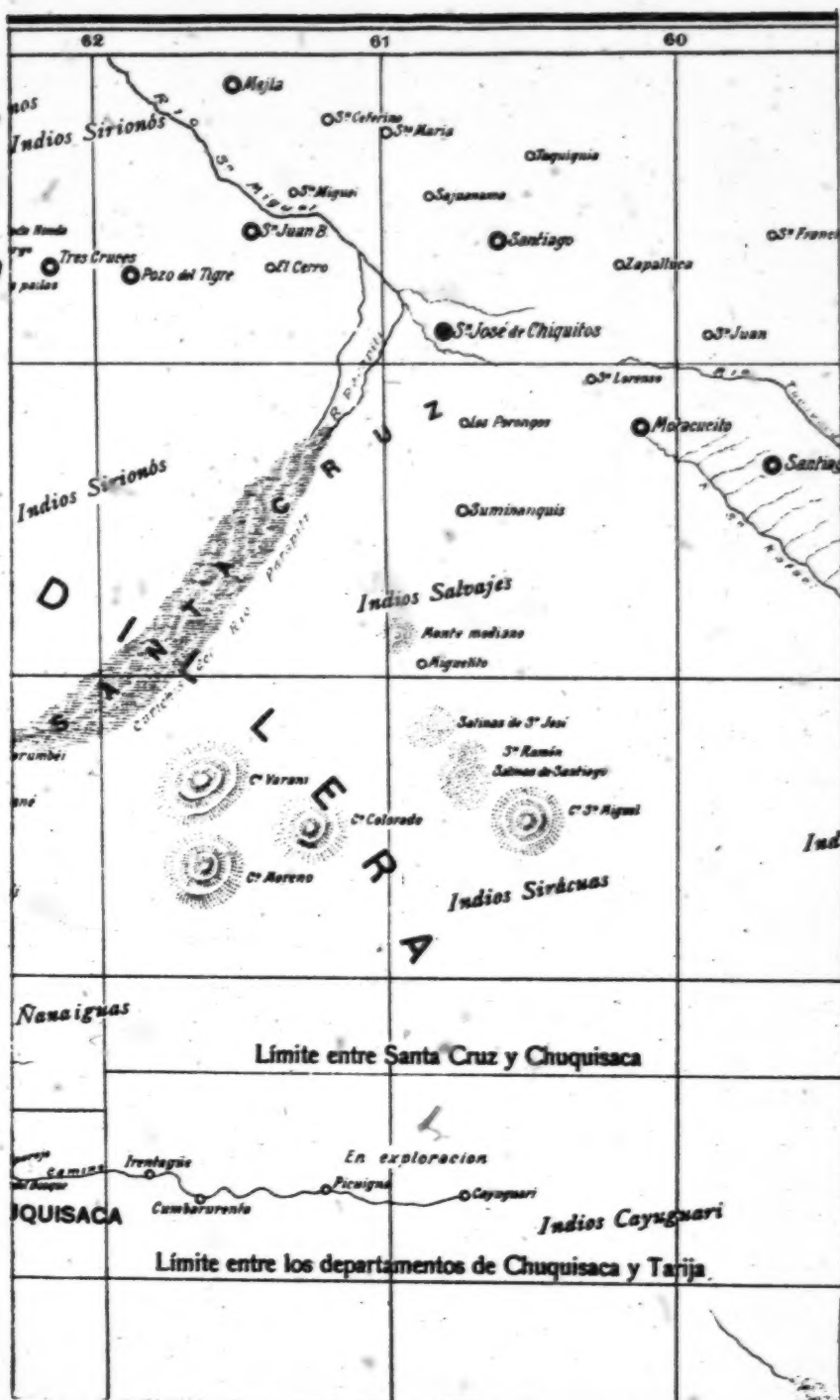
4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco
by Father Bernardino de Nino

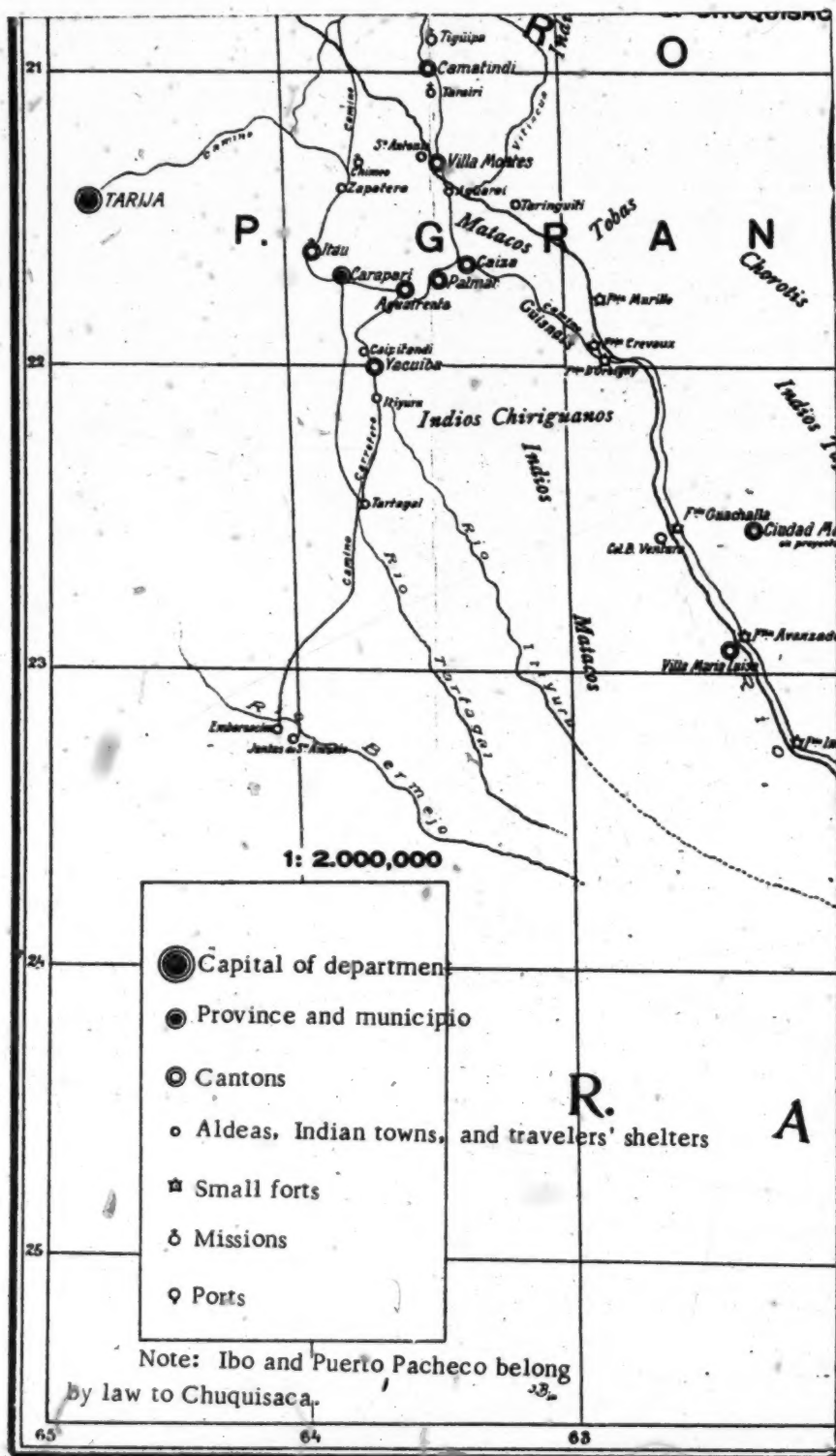
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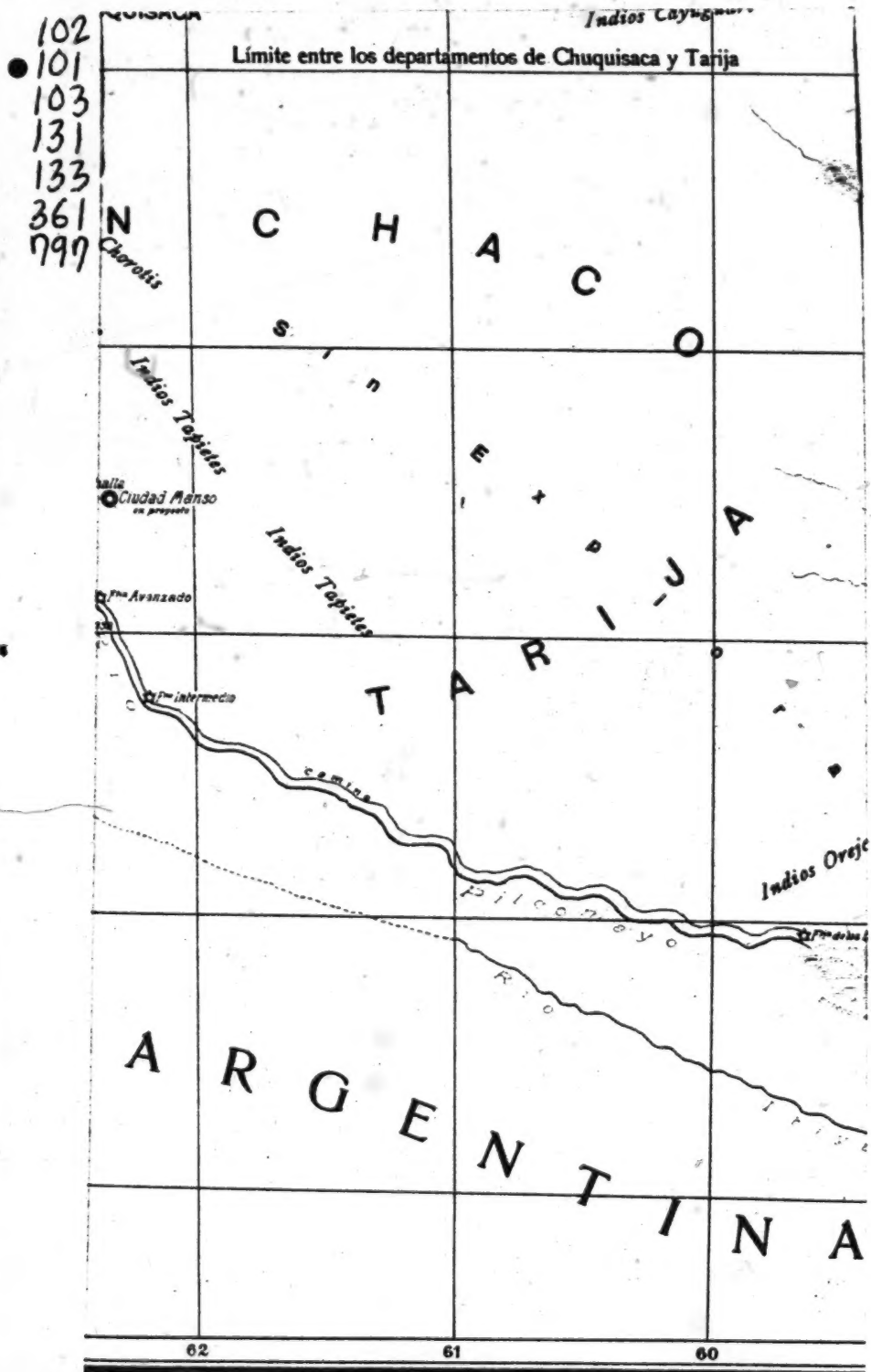


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XI

Introduction.

In Part I of this work I sought by a new method to analyse the material culture of two Indian tribes the Choroiti and Ashluslay. In the introduction to the aforesaid work I explained the method employed. In Part 2 I have sought by the same method to make an ethno-geographical analysis of the civilization of two other Indian tribes. These are the Chiriguano and Chané, who dwell in the southernmost part of Bolivia and northernmost Argentina. The Chiriguano are Guaraní Indians, while the Chané are Guaranized Arawaks¹). They thus belong to two of the most important tribal groups in all America. Their civilisation is already well known, thanks to the missionaries who have worked and still work among them. Their works are referred to in the bibliography. The most important are those by CORRADO and NINO. DEL CAMPANA wrote a monograph on the Chiriguano based on information supplied by missionaries. We also find mention of the Chiriguano in many older works. The information they give us of their manners and customs is unfortunately scanty. It is, indeed, only in LIZÁRRAGA, CHOMÉ, VIEDMA, LOZANO and one or two of the LITTERAE ANNUEAE that we find any useful matter.

SERRANO Y SANZ wrote an excellent work on the post-Columbian history of the Chiriguano. OUTES has written about their pottery. LEHMANN-NITSCHKE has dealt with their physical anthropology. Works on their languages have been published by several missionaries. I visited these

¹) Vide NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

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can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archaeological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

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The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I. From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occurring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

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All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

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The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians stretches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

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XV

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory. There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

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/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation. /

/148/

Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more.

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané.

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest.

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

/153 cont. /

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C 133 132

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C 13

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C 101

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C 114 797

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. C 114 [31]

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became my good friend. C 114 [101] [538] [123]

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri. C 114

Chané SF 8

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Piray and finally unites with the Río Mamoré. A few Chiriguano live along this river, and savage Tsirakua and Siriono also rove about in the forests along it.

Between the Río Grande and the Río Parapiti there is a region with an extreme scarcity of water and largely covered with completely impenetrable underbrush and low scrub forest full of caraguata and cacti. This monotonous, dismal vegetation is interrupted here and there by hills and grassy plains.

Besides the savage Tsirakua Indians who make these thickets unsafe, one finds another curiosity here, namely the guanaco (Auchenia). It is altogether strange to find an animal like the guanaco, which one thinks of only in connection with the cold plateaus of the Andes or the /156/ pampas of Patagonia, often afflicted with frost, in this bush which is frequently scorched by droughts. It would be interesting to be able to determine whether this guanaco of the tropical forest is really the same as the one known from the colder regions. Intelligent whites with whom I have discussed this and who have seen both regard them, however, as the same species.

Having returned to the Río Parapiti, I looked up Batirayu, with whom I had already become intimately acquainted in 1908 and who also speaks excellent Spanish.

With no other Indians with whom I became acquainted did I become as close as with Batirayu. He understood that I was collecting the old mementos out of an interest in his tribe. Batirayu did his best to explain to me the religious conceptions of his tribe. In the evening we used to sit in his room with a cigarette, and he told about olden times, sorcerers, chiefs, and spirits. Occasionally an old chief, Bóyra, also came, and from him I heard many charming Chané legends. We would sit until far into the night and chat by a flickering light that I had with me in order to take notes.

One would be very much mistaken if he were to believe that the conversations with these men were merely an interesting study. I felt comfortable with these fine, tactful, yes, why not, cultured human beings. It was genuinely refreshing after coming from the often vulgar, empty whites.

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439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
 177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they
 have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
 Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
 great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco
 tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané

Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
 [285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané
 produce basket work -- the

C Choroti and Ashluslay never.

Ee The former know how to paint
 [323] clay vessels before firing,
 which is unknown to the latter.

Ee [286] The Chiriguano and Chané
 never make bags out of

C [415] →

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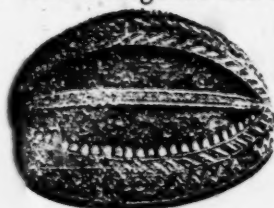


Fig. 126.

Decorated calabash bowl.
 Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products
 made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti
 and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
 [177] ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
 things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs.
 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
 Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for
 hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
 ●/10/ we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come
 the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquensic /Chaco/
 culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
 Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay
 Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

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 [13] The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on
 S the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of
 S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the
 Ce Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but
 [648] Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole
 district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between
 these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against
 [648] the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved
 [167] away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are
 [75] still remaining.

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 133 The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the
 137 tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking
 312 wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly
 241 watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants
 132 and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is
 not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

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 101 Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level
 of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group,
 the Chiriguano being counted with the Guaraní group, whilst the Chané
 [175] are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of
 their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a
 portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija
 Ce valley.¹ Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In
 [197] later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which
 [177] is Guaraní. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may
 be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches
 [174] of Rio Parapiti.² The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means 'dirt
 [131] people' was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the
 Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word
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 101 'guano' is the name for the well-known bird manure found on the coast
 of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano,
 [515] who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously
 cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal
 name.

¹ de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenfalk (16).

² Nordenfalk (18), p. 156.

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or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozo were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozo River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozo and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozo.

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Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozo,
Taken from Historical Data

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At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozo also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

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1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian Tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920.

Cited in the following: Nord, 2.

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and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-212.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a résumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guaraní," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Gurmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erlend Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomáticas. 1915-

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has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).

49. Erlend Nordenskiöld Forskningar och
Eventyr i Sydamerika /Inquiry and Adventure
in South America/. Stockholm, 1915.
Els. 14-16; 20 and 21. Nord. I. Figs. 75,
76, 78, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132,
and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number
in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

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Concerning the location and extent of the territory of
the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is,
from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of
the 18th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two
places in his work already cited many times above, the titles
of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguano /The lands of
the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

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50. Moreno II. pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II. p. 236.

Chiriguano-Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to
the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piriguayus also often called
Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest
(until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory,
that is, the western spur of the Andes from south of the
Pikomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the
Guspay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated
territory, "although they formed several partial migrations,
remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní
within the region which these latter had converted into their
impenetrable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

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52. Moreno II. p. 249.